

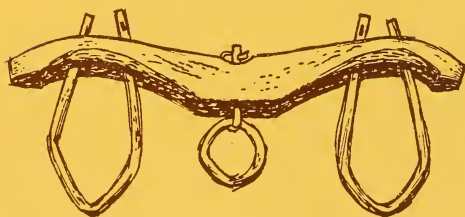
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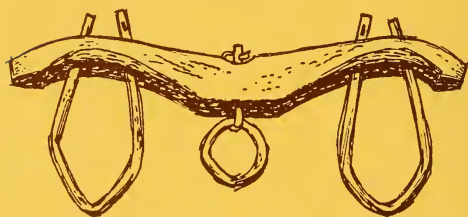
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"THERE is no new thing to be said of Lincoln. There is no new thing to be said of the mountains or of the sea or of the stars. The years go their way, but the same old mountains lift their granite shoulders above the drifting clouds; the same mysterious sea beats upon the shore, and the same silent stars keep holy vigil above a tired world. But to mountains and sea and stars men turn forever in unwearied homage. And thus with Lincoln. For he was mountain in grandeur of soul, he was sea in deep undervoice of mystic loneliness and he was star in steadfast purity of purpose and of service. And he abides."

*---From a speech by Representative in Congress
Homer Hoch, of Kansas, delivered February
12, 1923, before the House in Washington.*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS are due many people for their valuable assistance in preparing this volume. Among them are Fred A. Sapp, of Ottawa, publisher of the *Daily Republican-Times*; Dr. Benjamin P. Thomas and Professor H. E. Pratt, of the Abraham Lincoln Life Association of Springfield; Dr. Louis A. Warren, of the Lincoln National Life Foundation, of Fort Wayne, Indiana; Paul M. Angle, secretary of the Illinois State Historical Association; the staff of Reddick's Library, of Ottawa; the Chicago Public Library, and the Newberry Library of Chicago; W. R. Foster, for many years superintendent of the La Salle county public schools; Carlton Corliss, of the Illinois Central staff; Mrs. Barbara Franz, caretaker of the W. H. L. Wallace estate on the north bluff, in Ottawa, and H. W. Fay, custodian of the Lincoln tomb at Springfield.

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By C. C. Tisler, Ottawa, Illinois

BLACK HAWK WAR

UP from Sangamon county to La Salle, in the spring of 1832, came Abraham Lincoln and his carefree, swashbuckling company of volunteer militia infantry, enlisted to fight a guerrilla warfare with the Indians in a pioneer country.

Gay with the spirit of youth, giant in strength and proud of it, black of hair and with deep-set gray eyes, already the burden of sorrow had been laid on him by the death of his mother and of his sister, Sarah Grigsby, the latter in childbirth.

Future governors and senators and generals and justices, regular army men, farmers and laborers and rascals, it was a strangely assorted army that gathered on the Illinois frontier in April, May and June of 1832 to subdue Black Hawk and his Indian warriors.

The men who marched with Lincoln's company were his friends, farm hands and small farmers of the rich Sangamon country. Bordry Mathews and Usil Meeker and Michael Plaster and Royal Patter and David Pantier and John and David Rutledge—these were his fellow soldiers.

He had been chosen captain of his company, the Fourth Volunteer Infantry, a matter that pleased him mightily, as he often said. Even then the qualities of leadership that led him on and on to the martyr's seat in Ford's theater on the nation's blackest and saddest night already were apparent and were recognized by the keenest judges of all human nature—farmers and frontiersmen.

Let it be forgotten that he knew nothing of military tactics. But let it be remembered that he marched fifty-nine men under his command into the very heart of the Indian country without the loss of a man by desertion, accidental injury, death in battle, from wounds or from disease. Let it be remembered that his company retreated in the most orderly manner from Dixon to Ottawa, while other companies fled in terror, pell mell, after one brief skirmish with the Indians, and never stopped their headlong flight until they had reached their homes in central and southern Illinois.

There they were reasonably certain that no painted devil would rise from the brush or weeds back of the log barn, brandishing a rifle or a tomahawk and screeching in a hideous manner that would rout a man from the grave, so it seemed to the terror-stricken volunteers. This after only one glimpse of an Indian in battle array, defending his corn lands, his hunting grounds, his fishing waters and the graves of his ancestors from the relentless encroachments of the white settlers.

Only a week before the company reached Ottawa sixteen white men, women and children had been slain by a raiding party of Indians on Indian Creek, sixteen miles north of Ottawa.

Lincoln served a day at Ottawa in the volunteer company of Captain Alexander White, as a private, then re-enlisted in the company of Captain Elijah Iles.

He served for the duration of the war, and was mustered out on July 10, 1832, at White Water, on the Rock river in Wisconsin. With a friend he made his way back to Sangamon county on foot and by canoe, for his horse had been lost in service.

These are the brief facts of Lincoln's only service in the armed forces of the United States, except when he commanded the armies and navy of the United States in the Civil war.

He looked deep into the heart of the American volunteer in those three brief months of service from April to July 1832. He learned their thoughts, learned their habits, learned to command them, learned to work and march and fight with them, these men who have always been the backbone of American armed forces. The knowledge was priceless when it came to commanding hundreds of thousands of the sons and grandsons of these same types of volunteers in the Civil war.

EDITORIAL DESKS

OUR fathers were gluttons for punishment.

Political speeches that lasted four hours were common to them. Then the orators took time out to rest and for lunch while others took up the cudgels against the party in power.

Such was the case when Stephen A. Douglas, at the age of twenty-seven, was winding up his campaign for election to congress on the Democratic ticket from the third district of Illinois, which included La Salle county.

Douglas was seeking the first rung on the political ladder. In Springfield, Abraham Lincoln was struggling to establish a law practice, after serving in the Illinois General Assembly, to which he had been elected when he was only twenty-five years old.

The *Illinois Free Trader*, the first issue of which was published in Ottawa on May 23, 1840, took note of the presence of Douglas in the city, on October 25, 1840. He tried out his oratorical wings in the second county court house, which for many years stood at the south end of La Salle street, but was torn down in 1936.

The *Free Trader* story of the presence of Douglas in the city was as follows, and is written in the characteristic style of that period when politics were discussed:

"GREAT MEETING OF THE DEMOCRACY OF LA SALLE"

"On Monday, the 25th inst., agreeably to previous notice, the people assembled in the court house at Ottawa. The meeting was organized by appointing Joel Strawn, president; H. P. Woodworth,

Charles Hayward, Michael Canady, Asa Mann, William Stadden and General McClasky, vice presidents, and William Chumasero and Michael Ryan, secretaries.

"Stephen A Douglas, the Democratic candidate for congress, being introduced to the meeting, took the stand amid the reiterated cheers and cries of welcome from the audience.

"He proceeded to show up the Whig party in no enviable light. He exposed their falsehoods and mannerisms. He reviewed the history of their party, the part these prominent leaders have taken in opposition to the true principles of democracy, and in one of the most able argumentative speeches that we have ever listened to he enchained the audience for upwards of four hours, portraying the truth and beauties of democracy and exposing the deformities and evils of federalism so as to carry conviction to every unprejudiced mind. He was listened to by a large body of intelligent farmers with that attention which showed that they understood and appreciated the truths and principles he advanced.

"He closed with a most eloquent and stirring appeal that seemed to fire the soul and nerve the arm of every Democrat for the contest. He resumed his seat amid the loud and long applause of an enraptured audience.

"After an adjournment of an hour, Mr. Wentworth, the talented and facetious editor of the Chicago *Democrat*, took the stand, and in a speech of more than three hours' length, unfolded such a mass of facts and showed so clearly the pernicious tendencies of Whig doctrines, and illustrated so beautifully the happy tendencies of the eternal principles of democracy that no one could longer doubt the true party for every friend of his country to pursue.

"He exposed the humbugs, the follies and the absurdities of the federal Whig party in such an amusing way as to keep the audience in a constant roar of laughter. His eloquent appeal to the Democracy of La Salle awakened feelings that never again will slumber as long as the enemy are in the field; it will long be remembered with feelings of emotion and gratitude.

"After Mr. Wentworth had resumed his seat, Mr. Dodge made a few eloquent and pertinent remarks, and the meeting adjourned.

"This has been one of the largest and most enthusiastic gatherings we have had in old La Salle. The farmers came pouring in until the court house was a 'complete jam.' The real Democracy of the county is aroused. They are rising in indignation against that party which has so little respect for their intelligence as to think to gull them by misrepresentation, humbug and falsehoods. They are no longer willing to countenance a party that has not the honesty to avow its sentiments.

"Old Democratic La Salle is good for six hundred majority for Van Buren. Democracy, the soul, light and life of freedom, is sure to

triumph. It will live eternal with American liberty, and upon the perpetuity of its principles depend the happiness and liberties of the American people."

June 14, 1851, the *Ottawa Free Trader*, successor to the *Illinois Free Trader*, took note of the presence of both Lincoln and Douglas in Ottawa, who were here to attend a session of the Northern Grand Division of the state Supreme Court.

Both Lincoln and Douglas had by that time served terms in congress and had drawn national attention in political affairs, Douglas for his adherence to the Democratic party and Lincoln for his efforts on behalf of the Whigs.

It was the first and one of the longest newspaper notices of the presence of Lincoln in Ottawa made by the *Free Trader* or its contemporary, the weekly *Ottawa Republican*.

However, the *Free Trader* did not, in later issues, mention the fact that Lincoln, Stephen T. Logan and Douglas all had been reprimanded by the court for their careless handling of a case which came before that body. Lincoln was on one side and Logan and Douglas on the other.

Lincoln, by implication, received the bulk of the censure, for he lost the case.

At that time in Illinois history the state Supreme Court was an ambulatory affair, with sessions held three times annually—once each at Mt. Vernon, Springfield and Ottawa.

Mt. Vernon was the seat of the Southern Grand Division of the court, Springfield of the Central Grand Division and Ottawa of the Northern Grand Division.

There was no state system of Appellate Courts in Illinois, as there is today. Cases were appealed directly to the state Supreme Court, instead of being carried to the Appellate Court and then to the Supreme Court, with the exception of criminal cases.

As a result the Supreme Court justices usually found themselves facing a heavy and crowded docket. At Ottawa it happened on at least two occasions that the court had 400 cases to decide, a tremendous task and responsibility for three men. It did not add to the good temper of the justices or to their patience with careless or long-winded attorneys.

The trio of justices who scolded Lincoln, Douglas and Logan for their careless manner of presenting the case to the court were Chief Justice John Dean Caton, and Associate Justices Samuel H. Treat and Lyman Trumbull, later United States senator from Illinois.

A far cry from the many ornate court rooms of today, with their modern conveniences for attorneys, justices, witnesses and jurors, the room in which Lincoln, Douglas and Logan argued the case that re-

sulted in their censure was very plain. It had bare walls and bare floor, only the barest of furniture, and was large enough only for the transaction of the legal business that came before the justices.

The old court house was torn down in 1881 to make way for the fourth county building. In spite of its historic associations with Lincoln and others of the nation's great men—soldiers, jurists, statesmen—the court house erected in 1842 was the object of much ridicule by newspaper editors of Ottawa. They termed it the “old rookery.”

Lincoln arrived in Ottawa June 11, 1851, and remained until June 13, in the interests of two law cases which he represented before the Supreme Court.

He and Attorney R. Wingate represented William K. Stephenson, of Saline county, in a mandamus suit filed before the court at Ottawa to compel Judge Samuel Marshall to hold a term of court at Raleigh, in Saline county.

The General Assembly, without a vote of the people in Saline and Gallatin counties, had merged the two counties and established a county seat at Equality, replacing the old one at Raleigh.

The state was represented before the court by A. G. Caldwell and H. B. Montgomery. The decision ruling that the General Assembly had acted illegally by merging the counties without a vote of the people involved was handed down June 16. It was not made public until July 3.

On that date Lincoln wrote to a friend, Andrew McCallum: “I have news from Ottawa that we win our Gallatin and Saline county case. As the Dutch justice said when he married folks, ‘Now, vere ish my hundred dollars?’”

On Saturday, June 14, the weekly *Ottawa Free Trader*, a Democratic organ, took note of the opening of the court session and of the argument before that body between Lincoln, Douglas and Logan.

The paper said editorially, “The June term of the Supreme Court of the state for the Third Grand Division commenced at this place Monday. We understand that a number of heavy cases are on the docket, in which some of the most distinguished legal talent of the state is engaged.

“Among the gentlemen of the bar already in attendance from abroad we notice the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, Hon. John A. McClernand, Hon. A. Lincoln, Stephen Logan, Robert Blackwell, Hon. N. H. Purple—one time state Supreme Court justice—A. G. Caldwell, O. Peters, A. O. Merriman, Mr. Ballance, Mr. Powell, Hon. N. B. Judd (who nominated Lincoln for the presidency at the Chicago Wigwam in 1860), I. N. Arnold, James H. Collins, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Wingate, Mr. Taylor, of Mt. Vernon, Colonel W. B. Warren, of Jacksonville, etc.

“Thus far but two cases have occupied the attention of the court. The first is that of James Dunlap versus David A. Smith et al.,

assignees of the Bank of Illinois, at Shawneetown, on an error to Sangamon.

"The following is a synopsis of the case: Dunlap in 1843 gave his note to the Bank of Illinois (Shawneetown) for \$131,000 payable in state indebtedness. After the act placing the bank in liquidation, suit was brought by the defendants in error against Dunlap, and judgment rendered for \$38,000, the actual value of the state indebtedness. By the act to wind up the affairs of the bank it was enacted that the specie in the bank should be divided among the creditors of the bank (except for stock) *pro rata*, and certificates issued by the bank for as much of their indebtedness as was not paid in specie. Dunlap offered to pay the judgment for \$38,000 in these bank certificates, and moved the Circuit Court that the judgment be satisfied upon such payment. This motion was resisted upon the ground that the note upon which the judgment was rendered was a stock note and should be paid in specie. The Circuit Court overruled the motion and Dunlap brought the case to this court.

"The questions arising were, first, whether the record shows the note to be a stock note, and second, if it is a stock note, whether it may not, by virtue of the act placing the bank in liquidation, be paid in bank certificates, the act providing that said certificates shall be received for all debts due the bank.

"The case was very ably argued by Hon. S. A. Douglas and S. T. Logan for plaintiff in error and Hon. A. Lincoln for defendant in error. The decision of the court is not yet given.

"The case, *en passant*, we may remark, furnishes a beautiful commentary on banking in Illinois, and is well worth the study of such as have not yet made up their minds how they shall vote on the bank question next fall."

The *Free Trader* did not know that the decision, ruling against Lincoln and his client, had been handed down by the court on Friday, June 13.

The court held that the act did authorize the debtors of the bank to discharge their obligations in notes and certificates, unless such indebtedness arose as a subscription to the bank's stock. The court authorized Dunlap to discharge his indebtedness to the bank in its depreciated stock, and entered judgment against him in the sum of \$28,137.35.

Then the court sharply criticized the three attorneys who had presented the case to the tribunal—Lincoln, Logan and Douglas. The court said, "It is to be regretted that in so important a case as this the parties have not thought proper to bring before the court the whole transaction out of which Dunlap's indebtedness arose. Had this been done it is possible that the court might be called upon to pronounce a different judgment; but as the case is presented in the rec-

ord, by which alone the court must be covered, Dunlap's right to discharge the judgment in the notes and certificates of the bank is clear. The judgment of the Circuit Court is reversed and the case remanded."

Lincoln traveled extensively in 1859 and 1860, prior to his nomination for the presidency in the historic Wigwam in Chicago, May 18, 1860. His travels were frankly made to put himself before the people as a potential presidential candidate of his party in 1860.

Taken from the files of the Council Bluffs, Ia., *Nonpareil* of August 13, 1859, and reprinted at Ottawa, is the following comment on Lincoln's trip to that western outpost of American civilization:

"Hon. Abe Lincoln and the Secretary of State for Illinois, Hon. O. M. Hatch, arrived in our city last evening and are stopping at the Pacific House. The distinguished Sucker has yielded to the earnest importunities of our citizens, without distinction to party, and will speak upon the great political issue of the day at Concert Hall this evening. The celebrity of the speaker will insure a full house. Go and hear 'Old Abe.'"

A few days later, when Lincoln reached St. Joseph, Missouri, the *Sentinel* of that border state town had this to say of him:

"Hon. Abe Lincoln, the great Illinoisan who ran the Little Giant so hard last year, and Hon. O. M. Hatch, Secretary of State for Illinois, arrived in our city yesterday from Omaha, on the Campbell, and are stopping at the Planters.

"A number of our citizens called upon them and were much pleased at the great Standard Bearer of the Republicans of Illinois.

"Mr. Lincoln called at our office yesterday evening and took a view of the giant proportions of the Young Queen of the West from the observatory. In personal appearance he looks much like any other 'six foot' Kentuckian, and is very affable in manners. He and Mr. Hatch leave on the cars this evening for their homes in Illinois."

A month previous to this western swing, Lincoln, according to Carlton Corliss, of the Illinois Central railroad, made what may have been his last trip through La Salle county.

On July 14, Lincoln and a party of officers left Springfield for a trip over the Illinois Central lines for the purpose of appraising the company property in connection with a suit filed in the Supreme Court February 1, 1859. The party went to Galena, then to Chicago and back to Springfield, making a short trip.

Editorially, the *Republican* at Ottawa on Saturday, March 3, 1860, said of Lincoln, in backing him as a candidate for the Republican nomination at the national convention in May 1860:

"Mr. Lincoln is the first choice of the Republicans of Illinois, and the impression appears to be fast gaining ground in other western states and even in the east, where they have enough candidates of

their own, that honest Abe Lincoln is the best man to bear the Republican banner in the approaching contest. Honest and true and thoroughly imbued with the patriotic national principles upon which our union was founded, he is one of the fittest men the nation affords to place at the helm to guide the ship of state clear of the dangers that threaten it from the Democratic plotters of dissension. The nation has long enough been cursed by the corrupt slave Democracy, and it is now due the people that a man shall be elected President who will strive to retrieve the wrong that has been done. Mr. Lincoln possesses a national heart and will sufficient to redeem any trust that his fellow citizens may see fit to impose upon him, and it is believed that he enjoys a national popularity among all friends of National Liberty that would make his nomination by the Chicago convention be hailed with joy wherever there is a heart that beats for freedom.

"Other candidates there will be before the convention whose claims will be presented by their friends with more zeal than Mr. Lincoln will permit his supporters to use in his behalf, for all who know the man are well aware that if he should be honored with the nomination it will not be from any solicitation on his part. His friends in Illinois and elsewhere will probably bring his name before the convention with the conviction that he is the best man for the people; but if there is another man preferred by the majority they will yield their preference, though not without an effort to first place his name in nomination."

Following the nomination of Lincoln as the Republican candidate for President in the Wigwam in Chicago in May 1860, newspaper correspondents descended like a plague upon the modest home in Springfield where Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln and their three sons lived.

Some of the stories of these men on Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln were carried in the Ottawa newspapers of the period. Among them was one from the correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette*. He devoted a small amount of space to a description of the modest Lincoln home, an equal portion to Lincoln, his character and appearance, and the balance to a story on Mrs. Lincoln. His remarks are in sharp contrast to whispering campaigns, petty meannesses and fabrications out of whole cloth that unhappy Mrs. Lincoln bore to the end of her life.

Of Mrs. Lincoln the *Gazette* reporter said: "Few men, perhaps, have been so fortunate in their domestic relations as Mr. Lincoln. The accomplished manners and vivacious conversation of Mrs. Lincoln have been noted by all who met the lady in the quiet and hospitable home. She is one imminently worthy of the man with whose high destinies she has become, by her early preference, permanently associated, and in whose present fortunes she takes so lively an interest.

"Mrs. Lincoln is one of four daughters of Col. Todd, of Lexington, Ky., all of whom, by happy coincidence, have, on their marriages, settled at Springfield. On the mother's side I learned she is related to the Parsons family of her native state.

"Should Mrs. Lincoln be called on to preside at the White House, as there can be little doubt she will be if she lives until the fourth of March next, the hospitality of the 'people's place' will be dispensed by her with a grace and dignity unsurpassed during any previous presidential tenure."

Of Lincoln, the correspondent, who was a keen judge of human nature, said, "On all who have approached him Mr. Lincoln leaves the same impression of a truly noble character."

After all, that is the highest tribute that could be paid to him. It expresses more in a few words than do volumes written about Lincoln by men who never met him and who are forced to judge his life and character from the record that he left.

HISTORIC OTTAWA

FEW cities of its size in the middle west can match Ottawa in the rich background of a history that dates to the time of the French explorers and priests to the period when Indians lived in one of the loveliest parts of a virgin land, unspoiled, untouched, by the often devastating hand of the white man.

Soldiers, explorers, great jurists, the immortal Lincoln, politicians who in the exciting days before the Civil war helped to shape events towards the inevitable conflict of one part of the nation against the other—all these have been part of the rich history of Ottawa.

Tragic events and history-making events have taken place in the city or within a few miles of it. The bodies of massacred white settlers and Indians slain in intertribal warfare have dotted the plains and bluffs near the city.

Ottawa as Lincoln knew it was a typical small city of ante-bellum days, where one could walk a short distance and hear English spoken in half a dozen different American accents, or hear the tongues of Europeans pushing their relentless way west with other settlers.

The city was at the head of navigation on the Illinois river prior to the Civil war, and was a port of call for steamers from the deep south bringing molasses, rum, tobacco and other products.

Ottawa was only eighty miles from Chicago, then the last frontier for every adventurer, pioneer, ambitious lawyer, merchant, doctor, schemer, visionary and potential empire builder, as well as for criminals of every stripe and hue that a frontier could spawn.

The hardy broke the isolation between Ottawa and Chicago, prior to 1853, when the Rock Island linked the two cities, and dared a journey over rough, rutty, poorly built trails that passed for roads, filled with dust in the summer and with impassable mud or snow in the winter.

Stage coaches of the Frink and Walker line, plying between Ottawa and Chicago, carried fence rails as standard equipment. If the coach became mired in the mud the passengers were expected to get out and help pry it from the bottomless ooze, regardless of what happened to their clothes.

Ottawa, the cosmopolitan town, gave Scots, Germans, French, Irish and Norwegian soldiers to the Mexican war, and many more of the same nationalities, as well as others, to the Civil war.

It was an era when culture strove for a foothold in the parlors of little towns springing up on the western prairies, while porkers rooted in the streets and foraged in the back yards of the same homes.

Typical of other towns of the pre-Civil war period were the business houses, commercial institutions and factories that sprang up in Ottawa to supply the needs of a pioneer country.

Boot and shoe stores, gun shops, plow factories, casket shops, flour mills, grain elevators, reaper factories, foundries, sawmills, a tannery, sash, door and blind factories—these were necessary in a new country, along with wagon shops and carriage factories.

Taken from the old *Ottawa Weekly Republican* for March 8, 1856, are figures showing the extent of the city's retail business, factory production and grain trade for the preceding year.

The report showed the wheat trade in Ottawa was only 37,000 bushels in 1853, which grew in 1854 to 42,000 bushels, and in 1855 soared to 124,000. In the same way the corn trade grew from 225,000 bushels in 1853 to 553,000 bushels in 1854, and to 827,000 bushels in 1855. The city at that time had six elevators.

The city had four banks, operated by G. S. Fisher, Eames, Allen & Company, M. H. Swift—a private banker—and True & Waterman.

Hotels were numerous. Among them were the Empire House, on State street, south of Van Buren; the Farmers' House, also on State street, south of Moore; the Central Hotel, on Columbus street, and the Delano House, on East Superior street, operated by Beaupre & Prentice. Others were the Fox River House, in a grove of locusts on the same street; the Mansion House, stopping place of the élité, at the corner of Main and Court streets; the Ottawa House, at the foot of Columbus street, and the Geiger House, on La Salle street, near Washington park.

Toll was collected to cross the Illinois river bridge. George Baker & Brother ran a starch factory at the foot of La Salle street. John Hossack was an important figure of the day, and ran a grain business.

The Rock Island railroad ran one express train and one mail train per day each way out of Ottawa. S. Morse was agent. Sam Black ran a profitable business rounding up stray cattle, horses and hogs. Oliver Cornell was a land agent. Lumber dealers included John Hossack, N. F. Fairfield, Randolph Sizer, N. W. Woodruff and James Graham.

The City Flour Mills, operated by Schutt & Newman, were at the south end of La Salle street. The Green & Stadden mill at Dayton was four miles up the Fox river from Ottawa. The Aqueduct mill, operated by James Keeler, was on Champlain street near the Illinois-Michigan canal.

Four firms in 1855 built 500 wagons in Ottawa, keeping a small army of workmen busy the year around, and the total value of their output was \$25,000 for one year.

In the same year there were constructed in Ottawa 1,000 plows to break the tough prairie sod. Reapers were built here, cooper shops flourished, and the King Sash Factory employed forty-five men.

Contractors in 1855 did a business of \$385,000 in Ottawa. Two new schools, five homes and a \$40,000 artificial gas plant were built.

The total value of all goods made in the city in 1855 was over \$800,000. The grain and flour trade had a value of \$1,100,000, while the lumber trade amounted to \$170,000. Merchandise sales amounted to \$1,000,000. Hotels took in \$150,000, canal tolls were \$17,000, and Rock Island receipts \$52,000. Ottawans in 1855 purchased 10,000 railroad tickets.

The city had the usual number of groceries, clothing merchants, general stores, saloons and seventeen dry goods stores. The pioneer store of the city was that of George E. Walker, which was established at what is now 125 West Main street.

Orcutt and Jencks in the days when Lincoln visited Ottawa carried the mail between the city and Aurora, through Newark, Bristol and Oswego. The mail left Ottawa at 9 a. m. on each Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday and arrived at Aurora at 9 p. m. the same day.

The city had two red-hot political organs, the *Free Trader*, successor to the *Illinois Free Trader*, founded in 1840, and the *Ottawa Republican*, which was founded as the *Constitutionalist* in 1844. The former was a Democratic paper and the latter a Whig and then a Republican publication.

The churches of the city, St. Columba Catholic, the Congregational, Christ Episcopal and the Baptist, were founded in the period between 1838 and 1841. The Methodist church dated back to 1833. Lincoln attended the Congregational church, then situated at what is now 315 Madison street, when he was a guest of Ottawans. St. Joseph's convent was established in 1859.

These show only the business, commercial and industrial sides of the city as it was long ago. From the endless stream of pioneers pouring into Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas and Nebraska the city drew a brisk trade which formed the foundations of comfortable fortunes.

The morals of the town, despite the editorial scoldings of the weekly newspapers, were no better and no worse than those of other towns

of the same size and the same period. The majority of people led a hard, rough life in a new country.

On the other side of the picture was that of a city whose leaders in intellect, in brilliancy of mind, in achievement, of contribution to the welfare of the nation and state were not surpassed by those of any other American city of the same size. Their work, like that of Lincoln, endures.

Such was the city as Lincoln knew it, a city which in three years, between 1850 and 1853, doubled in size. In the former year its population was 3,200, while in 1853 it had grown to 6,400, where it remained until the Civil war broke out.

CANAL COMMISSIONER

A COMMISSION to hear claims against the Illinois-Michigan canal was established by act of the General Assembly in June 1852, and Lincoln and Noah Johnston, the latter of Mt. Vernon, were appointed members. During November 1852 the *Free Trader*, at Ottawa, under the signature of Lincoln and Johnson, carried the advertisements that the commission would sit at Ottawa.

The advertisement read: "To claimants on account of the Illinois and Michigan canal. All claimants within the provisions of an act of the General Assembly of the state of Illinois, entitled An Act to constitute a commission to take evidence in relation to certain claims, approved June 23, 1852, are hereby notified that the undersigned, two of the commissioners in said act, will meet on the 3rd day of December next at Ottawa, on the line of said canal, for the purpose of taking evidence according to said act. Dated October 28, 1852."

Where the commission sat at Ottawa is not known. It may have been in the old weather-beaten, small, state Toll Collector's office, off Columbus street at the canal, or the commission may have met in one of the numerous grain elevators then lining the canal proper as well as the lateral canal.

The commissioners remained at Ottawa from December 3 to 8, probably the longest stay that Lincoln ever made in the city.

December 11 the *Free Trader* carried a brief item saying, "The commissioners to take evidence on canal claims have gone to Chicago. They have appointed our late Sheriff, R. Eaton Goodell, as their clerk."

Goodell, at twenty-five, had finished a two-year term as Sheriff a short time before the canal commissioners met at Ottawa. He married a daughter of Governor Joel Matteson, of Illinois, whom Lincoln represented in a law case at the April 1859 term of the state Supreme Court at Ottawa. All court records showing that Lincoln handled the case here are missing, but since it was a very important one it is altogether likely that he did appear at Ottawa on behalf of Matteson. The trip here was probably the last one that Lincoln made to the city.

ILLINOIS CENTRAL

ONE of the life lines of the Union army, the Illinois Central railroad was built with the aid and coöperation of the giants of the nation in the decade that preceded the Civil war.

Over it poured thousands of men and vast amounts of supplies for the northern armies in the western theater of war. It was an artery of supply which raiding Confederate troops never severed, to leave the Union forces in a precarious position.

Stephen A. Douglas, perennial opponent of Lincoln in politics, was one of the leaders in the long battle to construct the Illinois Central. Another was Judge Sidney Breese, of the Illinois Supreme Court. Still others who backed the railroad project were such farsighted statesmen as Senators Henry Clay, Thomas H. Benton, John C. Calhoun, Lewis Cass, Jefferson Davis, James Shields, William R. King, William H. Seward and Sam Houston. They were aided by Representatives in Congress William Bissell, John A. McClernand, attorney and fellow townsman of Lincoln, John Wentworth and Alexander H. Stephens.

September 26, 1850, President Millard Fillmore signed the land grant act providing for construction of the Illinois Central railroad from a point at or near the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to the terminus of the Illinois and Michigan canal at La Salle. A branch line was to be built from there to Galena, in the northwest corner of the state.

Burdened with a debt of \$17,000,000 from its disastrous venture into canal and railroad building ten years previous, there was much opposition in Illinois to the state embarking on another railroad building venture. Opposition was overcome, and on February 15, 1851, the Illinois General Assembly granted the charter to the railroad. Prosperous and astute eastern business men and financiers were in the group to which the charter was made out. These included David A. Neal, Boston shipowner; Robert Schuyler, pioneer railroad man; Franklin Haven, banker; John Sanford, Indian agent and fur trader; Jonathan Sturges, coffee importer; Thomas Ludlow, American agent for the great Dutch banking house of Crommelin, and many others.

The line was surveyed through La Salle county. South of La Salle a change was made in the location of the proposed line. The embankments and sodded piers on which stone was to be placed for bridge heads are still to be seen. The railroad took a different route.

Abraham Lincoln, prior to his nomination for the presidency in 1860, represented the Illinois Central in many important law cases. He never failed to acknowledge the vital part that Douglas played in backing the railroad construction or to commend him for his vision in so doing.

In an article published in the Illinois Central magazine for July 1913, under the title "The Illinois Central Railroad, When It was Young," W. T. Dowell, of Memphis, Tenn., wrote:

"In the winter of 1856 I was in a snow-bound train south of La Salle for two days and nights. The mercury stood at thirty degrees below zero, and as there were no sleeping cars at that time and the road used wood (not coal), we kept warm by continually poking wood into the stoves and slept as best we could when not laughing at Abraham Lincoln's stories. He was at that time one of the attorneys for the Illinois Central and had been in Ottawa attending the Supreme Court, looking after a case for the road.

"While we were snowbound one day, in speaking of the railroad and its future, Mr. Lincoln said, 'Too much credit can not be given Judge Stephen A. Douglas for his foresight in getting the bill through the United State senate ceding alternate sections of land to the Illinois Central company along the line of the proposed railroad, which enabled the company to build its road. While the road is new, and of course not as well equipped as one would like it to be, the day is not far distant when the seven per cent gross earnings of the road will pay the running expenses of the state, economically administered.'"

A PARTY IS BORN

OTTAWA in the ten-year period that preceded the outbreak of the Civil war was a hotbed of politics, which is easily understood, for the city was the home of some of the best attorneys in the Middle West, and law and politics since time immemorial have been inextricably mixed.

Lincoln had two purposes in coming to Ottawa. One was to transact legal business in the courts; the other, and it far overshadows in importance any law case that he ever tried here, was to mix with attorneys who attended the courts, coming from all sections of the northern and central parts of the state.

He was the master politician of his day, one of the old-time, horse-swapping, give and take, attack and counterattack type of politicians whose likes are few and far between. In the difficult art of lining up support for his policies and in keeping that support he had no superior in his day. His hand on the pulse of public sentiment through his innumerable contacts with lawyers, politicians, old friends, statesmen and professional men apprised him of changes in public sentiment long before others suspected them.

By the middle of 1854 there was strong agitation all through the north for the formation of a new political party, and in this Lincoln took the keenest interest. Ottawa men were among the leaders in the move in Illinois, and it is to the eternal credit of Ottawa that its

attorneys and other prominent citizens took such an important part in the formation of a political party which gave the world one of its immortal statesmen and humanitarians.

The repeal of the Missouri Compromise had precipitated bloody and bitter civil war in the Kansas territory between the Free-Soilers and those who wished to see slavery established in the territory. Money was gathered and donated in Ottawa and other northern towns to help free-soil settlers in "bleeding Kansas" preserve the territory from the encroachments of slaveholders.

The *Free Trader* and the *Republican* in Ottawa at that time were filled with lurid tales of the guerilla warfare being waged on the western prairies between white men, while savage Indians hung on the flanks of northern and southern men, slaying each alike with impartiality and with equal brutality.

Ottawa was the birthplace of the name "Republican" for the new party in process of formation in 1854, out of the ruins of the Whig party, which for so many years had unsuccessfully opposed the all-powerful Democrats then in control of national affairs.

June 25, 1854, there was printed in the *Ottawa Weekly Republican* a call for a county convention under the signature of Judge E. S. Leland, of Ottawa.

"The Republican party," the call said, "originated from a belief that the institution of human slavery was a great wrong, and because of strong disapprobation of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and of the conduct of the northern politicians who were disposed to tolerate slavery in consideration of the assistance which they hoped to receive from the people of the slave states in obtaining the honors and emoluments of office."

August 1, 1854, five hundred farmers gathered in the court house square at Ottawa to take part in the convention. Many left their harvest fields and paid the unheard of sum of \$10 per day to harvest hands to work in the fields while their employers took part in the solemn deliberations attendant on the formation of a new party.

Heading the list of prominent men elected to carry on the work of the convention were Judge Leland, president; E. T. Bridges, La Salle; T. Hampton, publisher of the *Republican*, at Ottawa, and J. F. Linton, of Peru, one of the publishers of the *Peru Daily Chronicle*. Hampton and Linton were convention secretaries.

Out of the deliberations of the meeting came long resolutions which condemned the further spread of slavery and expressed fear that neither the Whigs nor the Democrats as they were then managed could be relied on to present candidates who would be true to the principles of freedom. The convention thanked the representatives in the General Assembly and in the halls of Congress for their opposition to slavery. It pledged itself not to work for any candidate unless he was opposed to the further spread of slavery.

The convention elected delegates to a convention at Bloomington September 12, at which a congressional candidate of the Republican party was to be nominated. It set September 2 as the date for the La Salle county Republican convention at which county and legislative candidates were to be named.

Many prominent men who had cast their lot with the new party doubted the wisdom of the name "Republican." That was brought out at the Bloomington convention when Jesse O. Norton was nominated for congress. After much debate the name "Republican" was adopted, and the party principles drawn up at Ottawa were approved.

Newspaper stories carried an account of a mass meeting at Bloomington October 5, and called it an "Anti-Nebraska meeting."

Lincoln was among those who doubted whether the word "Republican" should properly be applied to the new party, in which he was keenly interested and whose greatest and immortal standbearer he was to become four years later.

In the fall of 1856 Lincoln took the stump for the Republican ticket of John C. Fremont for president and William L. Dayton for vice president.

He stumped the length and breadth of the state of Illinois, making in all over fifty speeches, in one-day stands, with other orators and those seeking office on the Republican ticket.

Ottawa was on the itinerary of Lincoln and his fellow campaigners, and the rally was held here October 7, in Washington park, then enclosed with an iron fence.

The Chicago *Daily Journal* of October 8 had the following to say of the meeting at Ottawa:

"What Has Caused This Great Commotion?

"Glorious Meeting at Ottawa

"Twenty Thousand in Council

"Lincoln, Lovejoy, Yates, etc.

"Ottawa, October 7.

"Today has been a great and glorious day for old La Salle. Her freemen gathered in thousands from every hill and valley and came up to honor freedom by their presence and pledge themselves anew to her name.

"Of the many large meetings I have thus far attended in the state the one held here today equalled the best of them in numbers and enthusiasm.

"The crowd is variously estimated. The best idea of the hosts present is to give the number of teams in the procession, which by actual count were nine hundred and seventy-six—one, two, four and six horse, beside the immense throng on foot, which had poured into the city by railroads. Three stands were occupied.

"From Stand No. 1 Messrs. Trumbull and Lincoln addressed the people, each of whom made their best speeches. I never listened to more clear, convincing, and effective public speaking. Stand No. 2 was occupied by Messrs. Lovejoy and Bross. The speeches of both were excellent—that of the former being one of the most eloquent I ever listened to.

"At Stand No. 3 addresses were delivered in German, and judging from the plaudits of the Germans, I should think the speakers had enkindled considerable enthusiasm among their countrymen. Mr. Kreistman, of Chicago, was principal speaker.

"A free entertainment was given by the citizens of Ottawa, and ample justice was done to their bounteous repast.

"In the evening a large crowd still lingered in town. They were called together at the Court House, where the Hon. Richard Yates enchaind them in a burning and impassioned speech of great force.

"Altogether, you may congratulate our friends in La Salle on the distinguished success of their meeting. It was an era of this glorious campaign.

"Messrs. Lincoln, Lovejoy and Trumbull go from here to attend the grand mass meeting at Joliet tomorrow, from which place you will again hear from
VERITAS."

Where the *Journal* was laudatory in its story of the meeting at Ottawa the *Free Trader* was gently cynical, and poked fun at the Fusionists and their meeting. Yet today, after the lapse of so many years the mild sarcasm and ridicule that the *Free Trader* heaped upon those who spoke and those who sponsored the meeting remains an accurate and illuminating commentary of the times and of the great day in Ottawa.

The *Free Trader*, in its issue of Saturday, October 11, said of the meeting here:

"The Fusionist Gathering On Tuesday

"Tuesday was the great day of Fusionism in Ottawa—a day for which the note of preparation had been sounding for the last four weeks. No means, no machinery had been neglected to make this the great gathering of the campaign in northern Illinois. A great ox roast and free dinner had been prepared—a splendid pageant in the way of a procession and great orators innumerable to exhort and animate and cheer the drooping spirits of the Fremonters.

"The Democracy, in view of the immense preparations, commenced in season to brace themselves against the coming tempest, expecting of course to be overawed by the display and lost and swallowed up in the surging masses.

"At length the great and notable day came. Never shone a more benignant sun upon a more beautiful morn. At an early hour flags and streamers innumerable began to span our principal streets and

dozens of excited marshals, on prancing steeds, rushed furiously in every direction. Presently a column of dust is seen approaching from the north, and away rush twenty marshals in blue ribbons to greet the delegates from Newark. Another column approaches from the south, and a dozen marshals rush in that direction. And so on in squads of two, three and half a dozen of teams, they continue to arrive until noon, when the order proceeds to form the procession. Happily it is placed in array on Main street directly in front of our office and we can see it. In an hour it is ready and the huge column gets in motion.

“‘Well,’ say some Democrats, gathering courage and eyeing the procession askance, ‘this is not so great an affair after all. Let’s go and count it.’

“They station themselves at different points and count, and the following is the result agreed upon by all, without a variance of a dozen, as the procession passed the corner of La Salle and Madison streets, where it was fullest:

“Vehicles of all sorts—197.

“Men, women and children in wagons and on foot—930.

“Looked like voters—382. But to be liberal we shall concede 200 wagons in the procession and 1,200 people of all ages and sizes. There were certainly no more.

“The speakers’ stands were erected in the new public square (Washington Park) and thither in the afternoon we betook ourselves to see what was going on. At one stand we found Deacon Bross blowing and sweating apparently over some editorial cut from the *Democratic Press*. At another stand Trumbull was telling what he did in the senate, and at a third stand a German was talking. About 4 o’clock the crowd was largest, and we asked some Fusionist, ‘How many people do you estimate are now in the square?’ ‘Oh, ten or twelve thousand, at least.’ Well, let us figure on it a little. So we figure. The square, pretty tightly packed, will hold 25,000 people. Is it half full? No. Is it a quarter full? No. About an eighth? Yes; that is a liberal estimate. So this immense crowd does not exceed 3,000 people, men, women and children. But there are many outside, around town. Well, say 2,000 more. That makes the great mass demonstration 5,000, and no more, and we will stake everything on it, did attend the meeting on Tuesday, including Democrats and all.

“But how this world is given to lying. Deacon Bross goes home to Chicago and writes an account of the affair for his paper, the *Press*, and says:

“‘By actual count, there were nine hundred and seventy-six wagons in the procession, many of them four and six horse teams. The excitement and enthusiasm as it moved through the principal streets were intense. Beside the procession, the city was full of teams, and

the intelligent citizens of La Salle and adjoining counties crowded the streets on every side. The lowest estimate we heard anyone make of the number of persons was from ten to twelve thousand.'

"That will do for a deacon. Nine hundred wagons would make a procession five miles long, enough to fill all the streets in Ottawa east of Fox River.

"Besides Bross and Trumbull, Lovejoy, Lincoln and Yates were the only other speakers. Bissell, although promised on the bill, of course, did not show up."

THE BAR OF OTTAWA

SELDOM has a small city of 6,500 people been represented at the bar by such a brilliant assemblage of attorneys as those who made their homes in Ottawa in the quarter century between 1850 and 1875.

Justices, an ambassador, state officials, brilliant leaders in their profession, soldiers, and men who held important posts in the federal government service were then among the members of the bar of Ottawa.

Best known, perhaps, of all this group of prominent attorneys was Justice John Dean Caton, of the Illinois Supreme Court, who laid the foundation for much of the court procedure of later years and exerted a powerful influence over the Middle West in its formative years. He was an industrialist, a historian, organizer of a scientific society and a host without a peer.

Judge E. S. Leland was one of the original members of the Appellate Court of Illinois, when it was organized in 1877. He had served on the Circuit Court bench of La Salle county. His greatest work was the writing of the platform of the principles of the newly organized Republican party, at Ottawa, in 1854, a platform which was adopted throughout the northern states.

Washington Bushnell served as State's Attorney of La Salle county from 1856 to 1860, and from 1860 to 1868 as State Senator. Upon leaving that office he served as Attorney General of Illinois for five years. His keen legal mind and roaring voice were famed throughout the state of Illinois.

Burton C. Cook was State Senator from the county from 1852 to 1860, and in the spring of 1861 was made a member of the ill-starred peace conference which in vain tried to reconcile the differences between the North and South to prevent the Civil war. He was a member of congress from 1865 to 1873. Totally lacking in a sense of humor, he took life seriously.

Justice T. Lyle Dickey also served on the state Supreme Court bench. He was captain of a company of volunteers in the Mexican

war, and raised the Fourth Illinois Cavalry for Civil war service. His service on the Supreme Court bench was from 1875 to 1888. Prior to that he had been Circuit Judge in La Salle county.

Minister to the Argentine, through appointment by President Andrew Johnson in 1866, Madison Hollister added to the fame and brilliance of the Ottawa bar. He was Circuit Judge from the county from 1855 to 1866. Following his service as ambassador he moved to Idaho and became a justice on the territorial Supreme Court.

Lorenzo Leland was Circuit Clerk in La Salle county from 1842 to 1849, and later was clerk of the Supreme Court at Ottawa from 1849 to 1869.

J. O. Glover, also an attorney, and Lincoln's host at the time of the debate in 1858, was appointed United States district attorney for northern Illinois by President U. S. Grant in 1871. He also was mayor of Ottawa in 1858.

Among other prominent attorneys of the day known to Lincoln through his attendance on court cases here were Oliver C. Gray, who had served in the Mexican war; E. F. Bull, brilliant criminal lawyer; Judge Chas. Blanchard, Judge H. G. Cotton and Judge J. C. Champlin.

GENERAL W. H. L. WALLACE

W. H. L. WALLACE, State's Attorney of La Salle county from 1852 to 1860, was a veteran of the Mexican war.

Soldier, attorney and politician, Wallace sought appointment from Lincoln to the post of United States District Attorney for the Northern District of Illinois.

Lincoln received a petition signed by La Salle county residents asking that the appointment be given to Wallace rather than to a Cook county man, on the grounds that the latter county already was the prospective recipient of several other important federal appointments. ,

January 11, 1861, Wallace wrote his wife from Springfield, giving a glimpse of the crowded condition of the city, where politicians had swarmed to seek office from the harassed Lincoln. Wallace said in his letter: "I have seen Mr. Lincoln two or three times since I have been here, but only for a moment, and he is continually surrounded by a crowd of people. He has a world of responsibility and seems to feel oppressed by it. He looks careworn and more haggard and stooped than I ever saw him."

Two months passed; Lincoln took the oath of office in Washington, and Wallace described the scene in a letter to his wife. He said in part, under date of March 5, 1861: "Yesterday I looked upon a scene which realized my dearest political hopes. I saw an honest and able

man stand up before his countrymen in the presence of the representatives of the civilized world and surrounded by the insignia of power and without mental reservation take the solemn oath to protect and defend the constitution of our country and to take care that its laws be enforced. It was an imposing scene. Conservative men of all parties here are gratified with the tone and spirit of the President's address, and the direct and honest manner in which he met and dealt with the exciting questions of the day marked him at once an honest and capable man.

"He had been so abused and misrepresented that the great mass of people here who did not know him were as much surprised at his ability as they were pleased by the spirit of his first official act. The fearful feeling of foreboding that seemed to pervade the whole atmosphere is changed to one of confidence and trust in the future.

"I have seen Mr. Lincoln but twice since I have been here. I called today with about 500 other people from Illinois to pay our respects to Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln in their new home. Mr. Lincoln seemed perfectly at home—that is, he was as awkward and easy there as he was in Illinois. Mrs. Lincoln seems to support the dignity of her new place with becoming grace. * * * I expect to see Mr. Lincoln tomorrow and put my application before him."

On March 9 Wallace wrote: "Mr. and Mrs. Lincoln held their first reception or levee last night. The throng was immense; ladies' crinolines suffered mercilessly. The crowd was thickly sprinkled with gay uniforms of the army and navy and the diplomatic corps. Mr. Lincoln wore white kid gloves, and worked away at shaking hands with much the same air and movement as if he were mauling rails."

Early in May 1861 Wallace was appointed colonel of the 11th Illinois Infantry by order of President Lincoln, and within a few weeks he was on his way south—and to death—with his regiment. It was cut to pieces at Fort Donelson, Tenn., February 1862, in the first of the series of union victories in the west, which were a welcome contrast to the repeated reverses of the northern forces in Virginia that same year.

Wallace was given charge of a brigade February 2, 1862 and received his official commission as a Brigadier General March 21, 1862. He died at Savannah, Tenn., April 10, 1862, from a bullet wound through the head received at the battle of Shiloh, Tenn., April 6, 1862. He was buried on the north bluff, Ottawa, amid mourning by the city.

LINCOLN AND NASH

JOHAN FISCHE NASH for more than half a century was one of the leading men of Ottawa who met Lincoln many times prior to the time he left Springfield forever, in February 1861.

He first saw and heard Lincoln at Hennepin, Illinois river port town, in the spring of 1846, when he (Nash) taught school in the village, and Lincoln and Peter Cartwright were opponents for election to congress.

Innumerable tales are told of Cartwright, one of the famous circuit-riding preachers of Illinois, who at eighty was still in the field, performing marriages, conducting funerals, baptizing babies and converts and driving the devil from the frontier.

Cartwright was the only man who ever defeated Lincoln on a straight vote of the people. That was in 1832, after Lincoln returned from the Black Hawk war and campaigned for a seat in the state General Assembly from the district embracing New Salem.

Not until 1846 did Lincoln and Cartwright again cross political swords, and this time Lincoln won. Cartwright was on the Democratic ticket, while Lincoln campaigned as a Whig.

One of the old time "hell fire and brimstone" preachers, Cartwright warned his audiences that the fires of Hades and the tortures of the damned waited all "infidels" who had not been "converted" to Christianity. He was using these tactics because Lincoln was not a "confessed" member of any church.

The village of Hennepin was on the itinerary of Lincoln and Cartwright.

Nash recalled how the school board met the question of what was to be done, since the students wished to hear both campaigners. Those were the days when grown boys and girls of eighteen to twenty years of age attended grade schools in the late fall, winter and very early spring.

The board was divided between Whigs and Democrats. The Whig members agreed to the dismissal of school when Cartwright spoke in the village, and in return the Democrats agreed to let school out when Lincoln spoke.

Nash remembered that Lincoln spoke on internal improvements, the necessity of constructing canals and of making other such contributions to the general welfare of the nation; and he also dwelt on the threat of war with Mexico.

Like so many other of his early speeches, as well as numerous others made in later years, his remarks at Hennepin were not preserved.

Lincoln went to congress. Cartwright went back to the pulpit for many years to come, traveling the circuits of Illinois at a superannuated age when other men of less physical vitality had retired to the comfort of an easy chair, a book and the lightest of work.

Nash was Circuit Clerk of La Salle county from 1855 to 1859, and had many contacts with Lincoln, though he was never at any time on terms of intimacy with him.

Of Lincoln, Nash said: "I saw him many times in Ottawa, for he attended every court session. He made up his yarns as he went along, as Hawthorne did his characters, but I never heard him tell a dirty story.

"I heard him speak in Princeton and in Bloomington, as well as in Ottawa. His voice was loud and harsh, and could have been heard by 10,000 people as easily as 1,000, so powerful was it. He was not so ornate as Phillips, so great a rhetorician as Edward Everett or as great a word painter as Ingersoll, but he could convert more people to his way of thinking than any man since Jefferson."

Nash heard Lincoln speak at the state fair in Springfield in 1854. Douglas also spoke at the fair, and Nash said his voice sounded as though it came from the Lord God of Hosts.

Nash was in Major's hall, in Bloomington, when the famous "lost speech" of Lincoln lit the torch of freedom that Lincoln and the Republican party four years later carried into the White House.

He was finance committee chairman for the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Ottawa, August 21, 1858, and again the paths of Lincoln and Nash crossed.

In the dark winter of 1860-1861 Nash was one of the secretaries of the state Senate at Springfield. His appointment was made by Washington Bushnell, of Ottawa, who had been elected state Senator on the Republican ticket in 1860.

Nash met Lincoln many times that winter, prior to the departure of the president-elect for Washington. Lincoln and Bushnell had offices in the Johnson building, and Nash saw Lincoln when the former had conferences with his advisers, friends, political associates and job seekers, who thronged the city from November to February.

"Lincoln was very courteous to me and greeted me very cordially," Nash said; "but we never at any time were on intimate terms."

Bushnell, in the spring of 1861, came to the Johnson building in the dead of night and dictated to Nash the draft of a joint resolution calling on Senator Stephen A. Douglas to address the combined House and Senate, called into session to vote money for arms and supplies for the Union troops. Governor Richard Yates had appointed a state commission of five men from the Senate and seven from the House to draft plans for the state's participation in the war with troops and supplies. Douglas, death already beckoning, delivered one of his powerful and appealing speeches, calling on Illinois to defend the Union to the bitter end.

Nash last saw Lincoln on the day he left his home town for Washington to take the oath of office as President of a nation already divided by sectional differences into two armed and bitter camps. He was not, however, fortunate enough to hear that immortal and pathetic

farewell of a man leaving his home, his town, his friends and the scenes that he loved for all time, to face burdens the full weight of which even he probably did not realize.

MEMORIES

A SCHOOL boy's memories of Abraham Lincoln as he appeared in Ottawa on different occasions were cherished for many years by Charles Dickey, now deceased, son of Justice and Colonel T. Lyle Dickey, a warm friend but a political foe of Lincoln.

Dickey was a member of the Fourth Illinois Cavalry in the Civil war, which was commanded by his father, who later, for several months, was chief of cavalry on the staff of General U. S. Grant, in the western theater of war.

A fine old gentleman, he was one of the last survivors of his Grand Army post, as well as one of the last members of the Fourth Illinois.

The description that he left of Lincoln, as seen through the eyes of a boy, is as good and in some cases better than any given by the scores of writers, good, bad and indifferent, who have tried to describe a man that nobody knew fully in depth of soul, patience, ability, mysticism, sadness, and ironbound and inflexible will.

Of Lincoln, Dickey said: "I was a boy of thirteen or so when Lincoln used to come to our house, on the north bluff. My father, Judge Dickey, Judge David Davis and Lincoln were great cronies, drawn together by their common profession and by their love of politics. All three were great admirers of Henry Clay, and were old-line Whigs. When Clay died the party broke up, and there were left only the Democrats, the Know-Nothings, and the Abolitionists. I heard many a hot argument about them from the three men, my father, Lincoln and Davis, who later became a justice of the United States Supreme Court, while my father became a justice of the Illinois Supreme Court.

"When the Supreme Court sat at Springfield my father stayed at the Lincoln home, and when the court sat at Ottawa Lincoln was a guest of my father. I played chess with him many times, and usually beat him, as Lincoln was not a good player.

"My father, who was a great admirer of Stephen A. Douglas, was equally as good a friend of Lincoln. When the two were candidates for the senatorship in 1858, my father took the stump for Douglas in southern Illinois. Douglas was elected. But the fact that at the time my father was Lincoln's political opponent in no wise affected their friendship.

"Scarcely two weeks after his defeat, Lincoln came to our house as usual, and there was not the slightest change in his manner. He did not resent the fact that father had 'killed him in southern Illinois.'

He frankly told father that he believed the speeches he (Dickey) had made in southern Illinois were responsible for his defeat. Other than that remark there was no mention made of the matter, and they settled down again to controversies in law with the best of feeling.

"Lincoln fascinated me in many respects," Dickey said. "When I heard that he was coming I was always glad, for he was full of entertaining talk, and his facial expressions as he related these stories and incidents were to my boyish mind a thing to marvel about. After he left I would try to imitate his comical expressions, much to the amusement of my brothers and sisters. It came to be a sort of show, and I was commanded many times to make Lincoln faces for the enjoyment of my playmates. But I must add that this was all done in the spirit of pure fun and never meant to reflect in any way or to make sport of our visitor, for we all adored him. Little did we think that he was to become one of the greatest figures to cross the pages of American history.

"On Christmas day 1855 my mother died. My older brothers and sisters could get along very well, but my younger brothers and sisters and I were the problems. Lincoln and Judge Davis knew this worried father. Lincoln offered to take me into his home in Springfield for the rest of the winter, and Judge Davis, then at Bloomington, offered to take my sister. I don't know what came up to prevent it, but my sister and I stayed that winter with Judge Davis. I always regretted the circumstances that deprived me of the great privilege of being a member of the Lincoln household even for such a short period of time.

"Father, in the spring, moved to Chicago and opened a law office on Dearborn street, and I joined him. We lived in a small room back of the office, and it was my duty to buy the provisions for the house. I needed money, and went down to court to see father to get it. Father and Lincoln were opposing attorneys. Father would argue, and Lincoln listened as he paced back and forth along the broad aisle of the court room. His coat tails flew behind him as he grabbed his chin with his hand from time to time and hung on to it and twisted his whole jaw from side to side. He seemed to me to look very funny and quite ridiculous, and I believe that was the first time his homeliness ever presented itself to me."

One of the pioneer editors of Illinois was J. F. Linton, who with his brother, N. Linton, in 1854 founded the *Peru Daily Chronicle*, one of the first daily papers in the state outside the city of Chicago.

Linton, when the semi-centennial observance of the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Ottawa was held in 1908, wrote his observances on Lincoln, only part of which follows, as the article is too long for a short publication.

He said in part: "I first met Lincoln in September of 1854, and last saw him in May of 1864. I had the good fortune to be with him,

along with a dozen other guests, at Mayor Glover's table on the day of the first debate at Ottawa, and to spend the evening with him at his hotel in Freeport on the evening of the second debate.

"I was also favored by being a member of the 39th Illinois Infantry, the only Illinois infantry regiment on the eastern front in the war. On the Rappahannock, near Falmouth, Lincoln paid us a friendly visit and treated us all as though we were at least his cousins.

"Lincoln has been uniformly described as uncouth and abnormal, while in fact he was an exceptionally good-looking man, being symmetrically developed, mentally, morally, and physically. He was as self-possessed and easy in his manner as any man I knew."

GREAT DEBATE

THE young corn was green, in long brave rows, under a hot June sun when Lincoln made his famous "house divided" speech. The wheat was golden under a burning July sun when he and Douglas completed their arrangements for the series of seven public debates in seven different places in Illinois.

The oats were in long straggling rows in the clipped harvest fields of August when the Rail Splitter and the Little Giant met at Ottawa on August 21, 1858, in the first of the debates.

The hills flamed with gold and red and brown and scarlet when the last of the debates took place at Alton on October 18, when the die was cast and the fate of Lincoln and Douglas was in the hands of the electorate.

Ottawa on August 21, 1858, was a vast human sea filled with a crowd of from 10,000 to 15,000 people shuffling back and forth on crowded wooden sidewalks. In effect, it was more like a huge and overgrown county fair than the meeting of two giants of the time, met to debate the gravest and most momentous issues of their day, on the answer to which depended the future course of the nation and its very life.

The impression that the crowd was in a holiday mood, whereas it should have been in the mood to pay strict attention to what was being said by the opposing champions of two different and widely opposite theories of government and of human relationship to government, was aptly summed up long years later by Mrs. Hannah Patterson, of Ottawa. She was one of the last survivors of the debate and recalled the appearance of the great opponents for many years.

"I remember how the crowd had a holiday air," said Mrs. Patterson. "It seemed out of place to me, for those were serious questions that Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Douglas were debating. The people paid for the gayety of that day in the horrors of Civil war."

A brassy sky beat down on the tremendous crowd in Ottawa on the day of the debate, where a contest of giants, which had been inevitable since their paths first had crossed on the prairies of their adopted Illinois, was about to take place. The crowd milled and jostled restlessly for hours before the debaters squared off in the afternoon.

By canal boat, by train and by foot, by wagon and by carriage, on horseback, in groups and alone, they had gathered from all of northern Illinois, from the central part of the state, from Chicago, and even from distant states, for the meeting of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas in debate in an inland town in Illinois.

Roads were thick with dust and crowded with the thousands, all headed toward Ottawa. Many started long before dawn from many miles away in order to make sure they would reach the city by afternoon.

Farmers suspended work, busy as they were, and went to Ottawa. Hawkers and fakers set up their stands. The campfires had gleamed all night in Ottawa before the debate. Taverns and inns did a rushing business.

At noon the human sea, faces sunburned in the August heat, dressed in their best, which only added to their discomfort, because clothes then, the year around, were hot and heavy, started making its way to the park. On the northeast corner the new building of the Northern Grand Division of the Illinois Supreme Court was half completed. It was an object of interest to both Lincoln and Douglas from a professional standpoint as attorneys.

Chicago newspapers sent their best writers to cover the debate. These men used a new system known as shorthand in order to more easily set down every word spoken by the two senatorial candidates, Lincoln and Douglas. They were the objects of much curiosity to that part of the tremendous crowd which got close enough to see them at work.

Here, indeed, was a contest of mighty men. Douglas, native of Vermont, where no slave had ever set foot and remained in bondage, had come to Illinois, seeking his fortune. Here he had earned his first money, here he had studied law, here the people of the state had honored him with election to the United States senate, and there he had risen by his own talents to a position of power and honor.

His eyes were on the presidency, but first was this matter of disposing of an ungainly tall man with the shock of black hair, who likewise had been honored by election to congress by the people of Illinois, and who now was to engage him in debate at seven designated places in Illinois.

Never in all American history had there been such a contrast, physically and sartorially, between two men seeking such a high office as that of United States senator from the same state.

Douglas was short and thickset and was only five feet and one inch tall. His hair was thick and dark brown, streaked with grey, and his eyebrows were bushy over dark blue eyes. He had a pugnacious appearance, his neck was short and thick and set on square shoulders, while his hands were small and chubby. Usually he was elegantly dressed, and when he ascended a platform to make a talk he looked and talked like a great statesman.

By contrast, Lincoln was born in Kentucky, of poor-white parents, in a state where the black man was held in bondage and where the average white family was doomed to utter poverty. Tall and thin, where Douglas was short and stocky; possessed of large hands and large feet, where those of Douglas were small and dainty, almost effeminate; carelessly dressed, where Douglas was elegant, as a rule. Lincoln, nevertheless, in spite of his awkward appearance, possessed the God-given gift of holding an audience to the strictest attention when he had once warmed to his subject.

Farmers, attorneys, politicians, merchants, gamblers, adventurers, and all the heterogeneous population of what was still a comparatively new country in northern Illinois were, shortly after noon, gathered by the thousands in and around Washington park.

The early comers gained the most advantageous spots, and the balance crowded as close to the speakers as they could, adding to the heat of a vast human sea which already had been burned brown by a hot summer sun.

Lincoln's train had been met at the Rock Island station at noon by a delegation of Republicans, who escorted him to the home of Mayor J. O. Glover.

Douglas came in from the west, by carriage from Peru, in a long procession of carriages, wagons, riders and people on foot. The Democrats were determined to give Douglas an even greater reception than the one which the Republicans had manufactured for Lincoln.

Douglas was entertained at the Geiger House, headquarters for the Democratic party for the day.

Notables occupied the platform with Lincoln and Douglas when the debate got under way at 2 o'clock. Among them were old Chief Shabbona, then past eighty years of age and with less than a year to live; Mayor J. O. Glover, O. C. Gray, B. C. Cook, Washington Bushnell, leading attorneys of the city; Arthur Lockwood, merchant; William Reddick, whose beautiful home, now a public library, stands opposite the northeast corner of the park; George Walker, merchant and first Sheriff of La Salle county; Judge John V. A. Hoes, kin of former President Martin Van Buren; J. F. Nash, banker and Circuit Clerk; John Manley, hardware merchant; William Cogswell, industrialist and ardent supporter of Douglas, and W. H. W. Cushman, who amassed a fortune after the Civil war.

Lincoln was in a genial mood. He mingled with the crowd, patted school boys on the head, and told one of them, "Rub against people. Learn from them. Don't be afraid if they are larger and know more." He picked up two other small boys, joked with them, and told their mother, "Here comes Douglas; a little man in some respects but a mighty one in others."

Parades wound their way through the streets, winding up just before the speakers started their orations. In the Lincoln parade were carried rails and a maul, symbolic of the work that he had done in southern Illinois, swinging the same type of maul on ash, oak, walnut and butternut logs.

The heat was oppressive. Lincoln loosened his black string tie and handed his coat to Burton C. Cook with the request to "Hold it while I stone Douglas."

Lincoln's confidence was matched by that of Douglas, who had every reason to believe that in short order he could dispose of this tall man from the state capital in the first of a series of history-making debates on the soil of their adopted state.

It may have been this confidence in his ability that led Douglas to take a desperate and long chance of disposing of Lincoln and his senatorial ambitions through falsely connecting him with the anti-Nebraska state convention of 1854.

Douglas, speaking first, pulled from his pocket what was supposed to be a copy of a newspaper containing the account of the anti-Nebraska meeting of 1854 and the resolutions drawn up at the meeting. It was his purpose to present the accusation that Lincoln took part in the meeting and drafting of the resolutions, so that he (Lincoln) would have to use up all his time replying to the Douglas accusations and would not have time to present his side of the questions to be debated on. In such a manner did Douglas plan to dispose of Lincoln. It was one of the few bad political moves that Douglas made.

The resolutions, condemning slavery and its further extension, and condemning the men in public office who either openly condoned its further extension or secretly worked with the advocates of the further spread of slavery while publicly pretending to be opposed to it, were read by Douglas.

He called on Lincoln to answer the charges, to defend himself because he had helped to draft the resolutions, and to deny, if possible, that he had been connected with the convention.

Lincoln had not been present at the convention. He said so in reply to Douglas, and disclaimed any knowledge of having had a hand in the preparation of resolutions, which he said were drafted in Kane county.

Then he went on to present his side of the debate, after he had been cheered by the huge crowd of 10,000 or more people for laying low what was a false accusation by Douglas.

He charged that Douglas and former President Franklin K. Pierce, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, of the United States Supreme Court, and President James Buchanan all had had previous knowledge of what the Dred Scott decision would be before it was made public. He enlarged on his previous charge that a conspiracy was on foot to make slavery legal throughout the nation, north and south, east and west, in free territory and in territory that was not yet organized as a state.

The Dred Scott decision, ruling that slaves could not become citizens even when they had fled to the free north, had thrown that part of the nation into an uproar of anger and unrest unparalleled in the nation's history. It had been a boon, a Godsend to the Abolitionists and further fuel for the flames of hatred sweeping the nation and rapidly dividing it into two armed and hostile camps. Outwardly they were still under the same flag. In reality, on the questions of state's rights and of slavery, its extension or its eventual abolition, they were as far apart as the poles.

Lincoln at Ottawa laid the groundwork for future debates, where he was to make accusations and propound questions in such a manner that Douglas either must lose the south by replying in one way and forfeit the presidency in 1860, or by answering in the opposite manner lose the senatorship from Illinois in 1858.

Because Douglas occupied practically all his time at Ottawa in first presenting his forgery that Lincoln had been connected with the anti-Nebraska convention of 1854, and, in his rebuttal, in enlarging on the same accusations, Lincoln is considered winner of the debate at Ottawa.

The debate at Ottawa set the stage for the one at Freeport, on August 27. There Lincoln maneuvered Douglas into a trap from which the latter emerged with the senatorship of Illinois in his possession, but with his hopes for the presidential nomination in 1860 blasted.

Following the debate, Douglas was hoisted on the shoulders of several husky supporters and was carried to the Geiger House. Soon after, he left town.

An equal number shouldered Lincoln and carried him, protesting, for nearly three blocks before he finally wriggled loose and walked to the Glover home. He told his bearers, as his long legs dangled in the air and his lanky body was carried along over the heads of the crowd, "Now, boys, let me down, please." After he gained his feet he shook hands with his bearers, among whom are known to have been J. L. Waterman, Lipman P. Reed and Lowry Reedy.

The next day Lincoln wrote to a friend, J. O. Cunningham, "Douglas and I for the first time this canvass crossed swords here yesterday. The fire flew some, and I am glad to know that I am yet alive. There was a vast concourse of people—more than could get near enough to hear."

Part of the huge crowd lingered in town long after the debate. They called on Owen Lovejoy for a speech, and he made one that night from the porch of the Glover home, to the delight of a crowd of a thousand or more people.

On Monday, August 23, Lincoln spoke at Henry, on the Illinois river, in Marshall county, to a crowd of farmers who left their threshing to throng the little town forty miles down river from Ottawa. Of the Henry meeting, the *Ottawa Republican* on August 28, said: "Mr. Lincoln left Ottawa on the Monday morning train between three and four o'clock to fill an appointment in the afternoon. He spoke at that place about two and a half hours to a crowd that was variously estimated at from two to five thousand. We learn by a gentleman of this city who was present that he made an even better speech than he did in Ottawa.

"In the evening Capt. O. C. Gray, of this city, addressed a large audience assembled there and he kept them in an uproar with telling hits against the 'African amalgamation Democracy.' The Republicans of the county are wide awake and determined to give their opponents an overwhelming defeat in November."

Partisan as it is, the *Republican* description of Douglas when he was making his charges that Lincoln had taken part in the anti-Nebraska convention of 1854 and had helped to draft resolutions first drawn up at Ottawa, before the convention was held, is nevertheless an interesting example of the manner in which newspapers of the time colored their stories to suit their editorial policies. The *Republican* said of Douglas:

"We can give but little idea of the appearance of the speaker while perpetrating his fraud. His face was livid with rage and despair; he threw himself into contortions, shook his head, shook his fists; his whole body shook as with palsy; his eyes protruded from their sockets; he raved like a mad man. His voice at times descended to a demoniacal howl; and such looks as he gave his opponent. They were those of a fiend in despair. The most considerate part of his worshippers were disgusted with their champion.

"At the close of Douglas' hour Mr. Lincoln came forward and was greeted with rousing cheers from full three-fourths of the vast crowd. He disposed of Douglas' grand onslaught by simply affirming that he was not at the convention mentioned, had nothing to do with its resolutions and consequently was not subject to criticism on them, whatever they were.

"This was answer enough for a fair opponent. Having disposed of this, he entered upon leading topics, and in a very gentlemanly and masterly manner gave Douglas such an excoriation as he will not get over before November. He did not retort on Douglas by proclaiming his assertion 'infamous falsehood,' but intimated it was such. His

references to Douglas' record upon Supreme Court decisions cut Douglas up so badly that he did not attempt to reply, but occupied most of his closing half hour by enlarging on his forgery with more vehemence than before.

"Subtract the forgery from his two speeches and there is nothing left. Candid, intelligent men of all parties are free to say that Lincoln won the field. Douglas lost friends and lost votes by the exhibition he made of himself in Ottawa, and when his wilful forgery becomes generally known, he must lose every decent man in his party."

"THAT MAN MAY BECOME FREE"

LIBERATORS have their monuments in public squares and places in history books, but the true story of the struggle for human freedom is told in the lives of humble men and humble women.

The story of war is told not in the monuments to the memory of generals and admirals, whatever their ability, but in the hearts of the same humble men and humble women who serve their nation to the best of their ability, and if need be go to a nameless grave in defense of what they believe is a just cause.

There are no public markers in Ottawa to the memory of John Hossack, Scotch born grain trader; Sister M. Louise Berry, Irish born Sister of Mercy; Mrs. Sarah Gregg, member of a militant family of patriots, or Private Sam Ankney, of a company of Maryland Union volunteers.

Yet the story of the struggle for human freedom, of war, of efforts to relieve its terrors, and to preserve the Union is told in the lives of these four.

The memory of Hossack lives on in the hearts of those who love freedom, who hate tyranny and who have the courage to defy the law if they consider it unjust, rather than submit supinely. His courage led him to defy the Fugitive Slave law in 1859-60 by aiding escaped negro slaves, so that he was jailed and fined in Federal Court in Chicago, with other Ottawans. The confinement was nominal. City officials took them riding and gave a banquet for them. The jailing of men and women for defying the Fugitive Slave law was not popular in the north in 1859 and 1860.

Mrs. Gregg left a millinery shop in Ottawa to become an army hospital matron. She left a diary that gives the intimate, sometimes heartbreaking and rarely humorous aspects of life in the Union hospitals of the Civil war period. Some of her comments on bureaucrats of the times are acid, and could be applied without the changing of a word to those of 1940.

Sister Berry went forth from Ottawa with the Sisters of Mercy to the battlefields of the Civil war to nurse the wounded and the dying

and to give them the last sacraments. She taught for many years in St. Xavier's Academy, in Ottawa, and told her pupils of the awful sights of the battlefields on which she had labored.

Private Ankney was one of the men who served his nation as a spy, swimming rivers under fire to bring information of vital interest to the Union armies. Badly wounded, when Richmond fell, he was in the old and by now terrified city, dressed as a Jewish peddler, with a pack on his back. He saw Lincoln, and probably Lincoln saw him, but Ankney was forced to pass by the man who had written him a letter of thanks for his services to the Union. Ankney went to a grave in St. Columba's cemetery five years after the war, one of the hundreds of thousands who had served the Union well in its hour of need.

Lincoln went on to the martyr's chair in Ford's theater, to immortality and world-wide adulation of all people who hold dear the principles of human liberty, justice and freedom for which he gave his life on Good Friday night.

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